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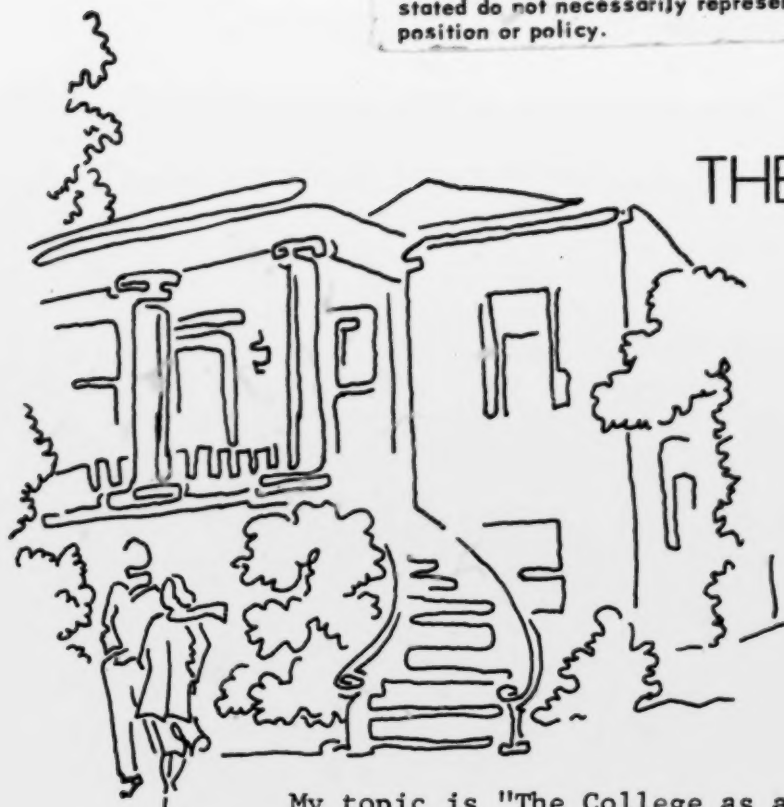
17. ABSTRACT (MAX. 250 WORDS)

Depicts broad trends in American higher education, especially in the nature and content of student subcultures, and places those trends in the context of social and economic development in the society at large. Identifies four dominant student subcultures: Collegiate (primarily fun-seeking and nonintellectual), vocational (skill seekers and diploma seekers), academic (seekers of knowledge for its own sake), and nonconformist ("alienated" students, generally hostile to the college administration and generally seeking some kind of personal identity). Suggests implications of subculture trends for the organization and content of higher education.

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THE CAMPUS VIEWED AS A CULTURE

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My topic is "The College as a Culture" and I choose to interpret that as a mandate to talk about some varieties of student cultures on campus, how they come to be, and what effects they have. But before I turn to that, the question arises in my mind: why should any of us be interested in student cultures? Well, one reason is that they are interesting in themselves. Student subcultures have a peculiar fascination for many academic men, something like the fascination of the exotic which takes anthropologists to remote jungles to study the rich and unfamiliar social systems flourishing there. Part of the fascination, but only part, is that if we look closely enough we may see ourselves as we once were; and not only ourselves as we were, but as we might have been if only we had gone to another college, or studied different subjects, or been wiser or more gifted in this way or that. Those of us who study the institutions and processes of higher education ignore our private motives at a cost to our public research; I suspect that many of us, as men of learning, seek in our studies of colleges and universities some better, deeper understanding of a crucial period in our own lives when, perhaps to our own surprise, we found ourselves uncommonly drawn to knowledge and ideas. I am struck at how often, in our informal talks about the college experience, we recall some relevant student experience of our own, and I think we do this as much to illuminate our own lives to ourselves as to shed light on the more general processes of higher education.

*This paper is drawn from a longer essay done in collaboration with Burton T. Clark "Determinants of College Student Subculture," which will appear in T.M. Newcomb and E.K. Wilson, The Study of College Peer Groups (forthcoming), and is based on research being conducted at the Center for the Study of Higher Education at Berkeley.

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Personal interest and self-knowledge are good reasons for studying student life in college. There remain the more publicly legitimate reasons--the reasons that deans and institutes and centers and foundations expect to hear, and that grace and justify final reports. These are of two general kinds: contributions to the sum of human knowledge, (that is, to science and scholarship); and contributions to educational practice. Our own research center is concerned primarily with adding to knowledge; the sponsors and participants in this conference are of course concerned with that, but also with ideas about higher education that may have some bearing on educational organization and practice. Therefore, in my remarks this afternoon I want to do two things: first, to identify some broad trends in American higher education, and especially in the nature and content of student subcultures, and to place those trends in the context of social and economic developments in the society at large. Then I would like to suggest some implications of those trends in American society for the organization and content of higher education.

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The heart of the matter is this: we are concerned with three kinds of things; first, with certain outcomes of a college education--specifically with the degree to which students broaden and strengthen their intellectual and cultural capacities. Second, with the role that informal social relations among students contribute to these outcomes; that is, with the extent to which they help make colleges civilizing agencies. And third, with the forces in society and the organization of colleges that affect the influence of students on one another--that is, the forces that shape the character and content of the student subcultures within which these informal processes of mutual education by students occur.

Let us look first at the dominant forms that student subcultures take on American campuses. We can distinguish four broad patterns of orientation toward college which give content and meaning to the informal relations of students. When these patterns of orientation define patterns of behavior, sentiment and relationship, we can usefully think of them as subcultures. The names we have given to them are the collegiate, the academic, the vocational, and the nonconformist.¹

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1. We want to emphasize that these are types of subcultures and not types of students, despite the fact that we often describe these subcultures by characterizing their members. An individual student may well participate in more than one of the subcultures available on his campus, though in most cases one of them will embody his dominant orientation--will be, so to speak, his normative home on campus.

COLLEGIATE CULTURE

The most widely held stereotype of "college life" pictures the "collegiate culture," a world of football, fraternities and sororities, dates, cars and drinking, and campus fun.² And a good deal of student life on many campuses revolves around the collegiate culture; it provides both substance for the stereotypes of movies and cartoons and models itself on those stereotypes. Teachers and courses and grades are in this picture, but somewhat dimly, in the background. The fraternities have to make their grade point average, students have to hit the books periodically if they are to get their diplomas, gestures have to be made to the adult world of courses and grades which provide the justification for the collegiate round.³ In content, this system of values and activities is not hostile to the colleges, to which, in fact, it generates strong loyalties and attachments. It is, however, indifferent and resistant to serious demands emanating from the faculty, or parts of it, for an involvement with ideas and issues over and above that required to gain the diploma. This culture is characteristically middle and upper middle class--it takes money and leisure to pursue the busy round of social activities⁴--and flourishes on, though is by no means confined to, the resident campuses of big state universities.⁵

2. For a description and analysis of campus subcultures, see Angell (1928), Johnson (1946), McConn (1928). For an early classic indictment, see Woodrow Wilson (1925). For the most recent sociological analysis of this student world, see Rose K. Goldsen, et al, (1960), pp. 60-80.

3. Goldsen, et al (1960), quote from interviews with fraternity men in their sample (p. 73):

"Lots of pledges come in with the idea that fraternity life means all fun and no studying. We quickly educate them. Not that we want grinds--no--we try to get them to maintain a respectable average. Nothing very glittering, of course, just respectable."

"We try to keep our house's grades up to standard. There's plenty of help for the brothers who fall behind. We have files of old examinations in almost every course that they can use in studying. We even assign certain men to tutor any brothers who need help. They don't have to get super grades. After all, when you get out of college nobody asks what your grades were. Just maintain a decent average."

4. In 11 universities across the country, fraternity members were found on the average to come from considerably wealthier homes than do independent students. In 1952, only 24 per cent of the fraternity men as compared with 46 per cent of the independents reported their fathers earning under \$5000 (computed from data in Goldsen, et al, 1960, table 3-3, p. 71).

5. On the collegiate culture in the Big Ten, and much else, see Riesman and Jencks (in press).

Part-time work, intense vocational interests, an urban location, commuter students, all work against the full flowering of a collegiate subculture, as do student aspirations for graduate or professional school, or more generally, serious intellectual or professional interests on the part of students and faculty.

VOCATIONAL CULTURE

The countervailing forces of student poverty and vocationalism, on the one hand, and serious intellectual or academic interests on the other, are strong enough on many American campuses which differ in many other respects, to make the collegiate culture relatively weak. In the urban colleges which recruit the ambitious, mobility oriented sons and daughters of working and lower middle class homes, there is simply not enough time or money to support the expensive frivolities of the collegiate culture. To these students, many of them married, most of them working anywhere from 20 to 40 hours a week, college is largely "off-the-job training," an organization of courses and credits leading to a diploma and a better job than they could otherwise command. These students have very little attachment to the college where they buy their education somewhat as one buys groceries. But like the collegiate culture, these students, for whom college is an adjunct to the world of jobs, are also resistant to intellectual demands on them beyond what is required to pass the courses. To many of these hard-driven students, ideas and scholarship are as much a luxury (and distraction) as are sports and fraternities. If the symbol of the collegiate culture is the football and fraternity weekend, the symbol of this vocationally oriented college culture is the student placement office.

ACADEMIC CULTURE

Present on every college campus, although dominant on some while marginal and almost invisible on others, is the subculture of serious students, the academic culture. The essence of this system of values is its identification with the intellectual concerns of the serious faculty members. These are the students who work hard, get the best grades, but also talk about their course work outside of class and let the world of ideas and knowledge reach them in ways that neither of the foregoing types do. Where participants in the collegiate subculture pursue fun, and the job-oriented pursue skills and a diploma, these students pursue knowledge; their symbols are the library and laboratory and seminar. If the faculty members who embody these values also represent the college as a whole, then this academic subculture is both identified with the college and involved with learning. For these students, their attachment to the college, which may be as strong as among the collegiate crowd, is to the institution which supports intellectual values and opportunities for learning; the emotional tie is through the faculty to the college, and through the friends of similar mind and temper made in college. This is the climate encouraged at the academically strongest colleges, and when colleges aim to upgrade

themselves, it is the students already oriented in this direction whom they seek to recruit. The products of this culture are typically aiming at graduate and professional schools; it is not surprising that they identify so strongly with the faculty, and internalize the scholarly and scientific habits of mind and work as part of their anticipatory socialization to their future professional roles. These students are often oriented toward vocations, but not so directly or narrowly as are the lower and lower middle class commuters who hold the "consumer-vocational" values described above; they choose "a basic general education and appreciation of ideas" more often than "provide vocational training" as the goal of education most important to them (Goldsen, et al, 1960). In any case, it is not necessary to decide whether they are concerned with their studies more because of their career ambitions or for the sake of learning. The distinctive qualities of this group are (a) they are seriously involved in their course work beyond the minimum required for passing and graduation, and (b) they identify themselves with their college and its faculty.

NONCONFORMIST CULTURE

It is in this latter respect, identification with the college, that "nonconformist," "intellectual," "radical," "alienated" students differ from their serious academic classmates. Some kind of self-consciously nonconformist student subculture exists in many of the best small liberal arts colleges, and among the undergraduates in the leading universities. These students are often deeply involved with ideas, both the ideas they encounter in their classrooms, and those that are current in the wider society of adult art, literature, and politics. To a much greater degree than their academically oriented classmates, these students use off-campus groups and currents of thought as points of reference and criticism. The distinctive quality of this student style is a rather aggressive nonconformism, a critical detachment from the college they attend and its faculty (though this often conceals a strong ambivalence), and a generalized hostility to the college administration. The forms this style takes vary from campus to campus, but where it exists it has a visibility and influence far beyond its usually tiny and fluid "membership."⁶ Its chief significance is that

6. The "nonconformist" subculture is elusive; it is difficult to assess its extent or importance now, and even more difficult to estimate whether it is growing or declining in importance. It may in fact constitute a residual category, concealing within it quite different kinds of attitudes and orientations, some of which are on the rise, at least among a significant minority of American students, some of which are declining in their importance. This category is in some ways the most interesting of all; here, next to the fashionable Bohemians and the compulsive rebels are those who already in college exhibit the radical cosmopolitanism and skepticism, the alienation from merely "institutional" attachments, and the commitment to abstract ideas that are marks of the intellectual.

it offers a genuine alternative (if only a temporary one) to the rebellious student seeking a distinctive identity in keeping with his own temperament and experience; in a sense it provides some intellectual content and meaning to the idealism and rebelliousness generated in adolescence in some parts of American society. Where the preceding three types of students pursue fun, a diploma, and knowledge, respectively, these students pursue an identity, not as a byproduct but as the primary and often self-conscious aim of their education. And their symbol is a distinctive style--of dress, speech, attitude--that itself represents the identity they seek.

It is hard not to romanticize such a romantic set of attitudes and behaviors, especially when we know so little about where campus bohemianism exists, what kinds of students identify themselves with it, how closely and for how long, how deep and genuine are the commitments to art and ideas its members profess, what are its effects on its members, for other students on campus, for the whole institution. Firm knowledge which answers these questions may reduce our need to romanticize the "nonconformists" as it may increase our respect for them.

As you may have observed, the types of student value systems and subcultures we have been describing emerge from the combination of two variables: (a) the degree students are involved with ideas, and (b) the extent to which students identify with their college. If we dichotomize these variables, the above four types of student orientations (which, as we noted, provide the content of the most important and distinguishable student subcultures) emerge thus:

Jencks and Riesman (in press) draw a distinction between the academic and the intellectual. The former, in their usage, refers to the pursuit of knowledge within some scholarly or professional discipline by experts and specialists (or their apprentices), whereas intellectual inquiry is the pursuit of wisdom--answers to perennial problems of living--through the play of intelligence rather than through specialized learning.

Jencks and Riesman observe that the official view holds that "the intellectual and the academic are largely synonymous," and they are concerned with those student organizations at Harvard that "have emerged to defend intellectual concerns against overt or covert pressures from the curriculum" Our typology to some extent cuts across this distinction: the academic cultures we speak of include students with intellectual interests as well as 'grinds' submissive to the demands of the faculty. When students' intellectual interests are not merely independent of, but also at odds with, the curriculum, they often form the nucleus of what we have called "non-conformist" cultures, which, however, also include styles and interests that are by no means intellectual. In our typology, the members of the academic subcultures tend to link their interests to the curriculum; the non-conformists pursue theirs outside it.

		<u>Involved with ideas</u>	
		+	-
<u>Identify with their college</u>	+	1	2
	-	3	4

1. The academic subculture
2. The collegiate subculture
3. The "nonconformist" subculture
4. The consumer-vocational subculture

These subcultures are fluid systems of norms and values which overlap and flow into one another on any particular campus in ways that challenge the effort to distinguish them analytically. Yet that effort, for all the violence it does to the complexity of social life, appears justified by the congruence of these types with observed reality, and by the light it sheds not only on student subcultures themselves, but on colleges as social organizations embedded in a larger social structure. Having made these elementary distinctions among types of student subcultures, we can now raise the following questions about the ways in which these subcultures are linked to the larger social structure and to the essential characteristics of colleges:

1. In what strengths and combinations are these orientations found in different types of colleges? Among the 9000 undergraduates on the Berkeley campus of the University of California, all these systems of values are represented, and in some strength with perhaps the collegiate dominant; while among the equally large number at San Francisco State, the collegiate subculture is almost wholly absent (Riesman and Jencks, in press) and the academic and nonconformist subcultures are weak compared with the dominant "consumer-vocational" orientations of the great majority. At academically elite schools such as Reed and Swarthmore, the academic subculture is clearly dominant, with nonconformist values represented, while both the consumer-vocational and the collegiate are less strong and visible. And we can think without difficulty of schools where the older collegiate values still reign supreme, tempered perhaps by an academically oriented minority, with the leaven of bohemians almost wholly absent.

2. What are the social characteristics of the typical members of these different subcultures; where in the social structure do they come from, and what are the links between their shared life experience and their college styles and orientations? There are distinctive patterns of life experience that heavily condition the qualities and characteristics that students bring with them to college; the question is, what are the important qualities, and what are their sources? Behind the patterns of life experiences lie social class, racial and ethnic ties, and religious identifications; it is the subcultures in the general population, with their values and orientations and aspirations, that shape the orientations most students initially assume toward college.

3. How do these demographic (we might better say biographical) linkages differ in different kinds of colleges? We have already suggested the connections between lower and lower middle class origins, strong mobility aspirations, and the consumer-vocational orientation. But some students thus oriented will find themselves in a minority, in an Ivy League college, for example, while others will find themselves among the majority in, say, a municipal college. How do these similar students deal with their college experience in these quite different situations?

4. What are the historical and structural characteristics of colleges that affect the character of their cultural mix? The purpose of an institution, its historical traditions, its size and rate of growth, its sources of funds and faculty, its physical location, the images of it held in different parts of the population--these and other factors shape the character of the student life within a college. The task is to specify how these forces operate, in conjunction with the forces in the larger society that shape its raw material and receive its products.

Now having raised these questions, I would like to back off from them and try to put them in the perspective of developments in the larger society, and the organization of higher education.

THE LARGER SOCIETY

Among the broad forces affecting colleges and student cultures are the values regarding higher education held in different parts of the population--notions of what a college is and ought to be. These values are very heavily shaped by the changing requirements of the occupational structure which in turn reflect the changing character of the society's major social institutions.

In society as a whole, and especially in the sections that send their sons and daughters to college and hire the college trained, there appears to be a long-range trend toward greater "rationality," toward the sober bureaucratic virtues of prudence, calculation, and the acquisition of useful skills and knowledge.⁷ The immense growth, both

7. For a recent summary of research on American values, see Kluckhohn (1958).

in size and importance, of large-scale enterprise--big business, big government, big labor, big education--and the concomitant growth of the technical, managerial and salaried professional occupations⁸ that these big organizations employ have their effects on the colleges where the future occupants of these jobs are trained. More students find that bureaucratic career lines dominate the post-college horizon, and more plan to pursue post-graduate studies.⁹ The growing number of corporate job interviewers show the same kinds of interest in college transcripts as do the deans and graduate faculties reviewing the applications of would-be academic men and professionals. Of course, the sobering effect on college activities and relationships of these anticipated scrutinies of college records is escaped by some students. The boy who envisions a place for himself in his father's automobile agency or other small business can throw himself into the fun of the collegiate culture with a lighter heart than the boy whose college record will be examined by the corporate recruiter or graduate school dean. But the number of students who can afford to ignore the record is diminishing.¹⁰

8. Between 1950 and 1957 the total number of jobs rose 8 per cent, but the fastest growing categories were professional, technical, and kindred workers, which increased by 43 per cent. (Bogue, 1959).
9. The proportion of college students who go on to graduate or professional schools is rising very rapidly in some colleges, and where it does, it changes the character of undergraduate life. For example, "William C. DeVane, dean of Yale College, estimates that 77 per cent of the class of '60 will continue. He adds that ten years ago, the figure was about 50 per cent and back in 1920, when he graduated, only about 20 per cent continued their studies." (New York Times, Sunday, June 5, 1960.) The proportions continuing vary greatly from college to college. Such different colleges as Dartmouth and C.C.N.Y. report 60 per cent of their graduates will continue their studies. By contrast, only about 25 per cent of the male graduates of the University of Wisconsin will continue. The very rapid academic upgrading of elite Eastern colleges has seriously undermined the collegiate culture on those campuses. (Bloomgarden, 1960.) Its last strongholds are in those big state universities which recruit large numbers of upper middle class students, relatively few of whom continue their studies after graduation.
10. For some supporting "evidence" see: "Is Apathy on the Way Out," Mademoiselle, May, 1960. "As academic pressures are stepped up, students have less time to rehearse cancan numbers for variety shows, hunt down floodlights to illuminate fifty-foot homecoming signs, and fashion castles out of tin foil for floats. The result: any number of traditional extracurricular activities are being scrapped." And the article goes on to cite other illustrations of what a Princeton man calls "creeping asceticism." See also Goldsen, et al, (1960).

While the collegiate subculture is in no immediate danger of extinction, especially on its state university preserves, the sober (often merely humorless) demands of the Cold War and large organizations for bureaucratic and technical expertise are having their effects on the values and social relationships of American college students. And this influence, by and large, has been to strengthen the academic and especially the vocational orientations that I have discussed earlier, and to reduce the prestige and appeal of the collegiate.

These broad movements in American life--the increasing importance of training and expertise (and the impersonal marks thereof) demanded by the salaried occupations and professions, coupled with the massive growth of the college population, cannot but affect the character of student life in college. For these major social forces determine where college students come from and where they are going, and these widely shared biographical facts, in conjunction with the characteristics of the colleges they go to, heavily determine how students use their college experience, what they are there for, what it is they are seeking. Many of the sons and daughters of working class and lower middle class origin who now go to college in increasing numbers, see college in almost purely instrumental terms, as the place where they can buy the skills and diplomas that will earn them good jobs in some large organizations (Kahl, 1953 and Trow, 1958). When these students go, as so many of them do, to large "people-processing institutions" without a tradition either of intellectual playfulness or a serious commitment to ideas, then the vocational subculture flourishes: on those campuses the absolute level of student interaction is lower, and what there is centers on the shared training experience--as Jencks points out, friendships are shaped very largely by common departmental affiliations. Upper middle class students more often can afford the luxury of an interest in ideas, as they also can afford the luxury of the collegiate subculture and its fun morality. Which way they go depends on the intellectual climate in their homes, on their own academic skills (which have made their experience with ideas rewarding or painful), and on the kind of college they eventually enter, which in turn is largely determined by the intellectual stimulation of their home environments and their precollege academic performance.

These summary remarks greatly oversimplify a complex web of social and social-psychological processes. But over and above these processes within students' biographies, the issue of where students come from and where they are going heavily influences their college experience. Lower middle class origins predispose students to take a vocational stance toward their college studies and relationships;¹¹ in

11. When working and lower middle class boys do go into a profession, it is likely to be one of the two--engineering and education--that require least post-graduate training (Trow, 1958, and Rosenberg, 1957, p. 55, table 31). In Great Britain, as well, "It is no accident that the technologies take in proportionately more young people of working class origin than any of the other faculties. If the proportion for the arts is also high, this is because of the function of arts faculties in the modern universities as professional schools for would-be grammar school teachers" (Halsey, 1958, p. 151).

the upper middle class, aspirations for occupations and professions (most especially academic life and science) that involve continual formal study and learning after graduation, predispose students toward an involvement with ideas. We may suggest that these two factors--of social origins and occupational aspirations--tend to lead students into the broad types of student subcultures we have discussed in this fashion.

Where the importance of skills and knowledge acquired in college is high, as in science, scholarship and the professions, and in an increasing number of jobs in government and industry, the student is likely to hold either vocational or academic orientations toward his education, depending on whether his interest in the skills or knowledge is purely instrumental to his purposes, or whether his interest in knowledge and ideas is in some degree for their own intrinsic qualities and rewards. On the other hand, where the importance of these skills and knowledge gained in college is low, as, for example, in many kinds of sales positions, then the student is more likely to be free to take part in the collegiate culture. If he cannot afford that, either financially or psychologically, his vocational orientation toward his college education may be the special, highly detached kind that is simply concerned with getting the diploma that he wants for its occupational or social value.

Of course, this is a gross oversimplification. It applies, if at all, chiefly to boys (though we suspect that girls take part in college subcultures similar to those of the husbands they wish for). Moreover, recruitment to those subcultures is affected by many other factors, among them the characteristics of the colleges that students go to.¹² Nevertheless, such a summary typology links broad trends in

12. For example, while students from working and lower middle class origins generally are more vocationally oriented and less culturally sophisticated than are students from upper middle class and professional homes, these differences are less likely to be found among the students within any particular college. Our data show that at Antioch, Reed, and Swarthmore, the small minority of students from lower class origins are, in their cultural habits and orientations, indistinguishable from the majority of students, who come from upper middle class and professional homes, while at San Francisco State the minority of upper middle class students are culturally indistinguishable from the students of lower and lower middle class backgrounds. The effects of selective recruitment (through both self-recruitment and admissions screening) along lines of academic orientations and aptitudes are so strong that they wash out or at least greatly reduce differences in cultural and intellectual orientations that stem from differences in social origins among students within any one of these colleges. This finding is supported by data collected by Hanan Selvin among students at the University of California at Berkeley. Selvin, studying political tolerance among students, found students from working class origins even more tolerant than students from middle

the society at large to the distribution of student subcultures on American campuses. For insofar as skills and formal knowledge grow in importance, with the growth in the complexity of the society and its institutions, and as more and more students of lower class origins go to college, the vocational and academic orientations grow in importance at the expense of the collegiate.

The great conflict on American campuses over the past fifty years has been between the academic and the collegiate subcultures, with the faculty upholding the intellectual values, and the majority of students successfully opposing those with their own nonintellectual or anti-intellectual interests. Increasingly, however, the struggle will be between the vocational and academic subcultures, with the cleavage between the two more nearly vertical--that is, with more proponents of each set of values on both sides of the student-faculty line. Both the vocational and the academic orientations are "adult" in a way that the collegiate culture is not; while collegiate values and practices were widely condoned and tolerated by college authorities, very few adults in college were prepared to defend them as an adequate definition of the college experience. By contrast, the vocational orientation as the primary orientation to college is held in very respectable quarters, finds expression in books on educational philosophy, and has many spokesmen both among college teachers and administrators. Thus the new conflict between vocational and academic values (and it is new only in extent and not in incidence--it has been a mark, for example, of the upgrading of normal schools to the rank of state colleges all over the country for many years) is not likely to be as dramatic as the old, both because the symbols are less clear and because the cleavage between these cultures within colleges is not so sharply drawn along the

class homes, despite the fact that in the general population manual workers are on the whole a good deal less politically tolerant than middle or upper class people (Selvin and Hagstrom, 1960). There is clearly a very selective recruitment to UC of students from working class backgrounds, one which washes out, or, as in this case, reverses relationships found in the general population. This selective recruitment does not necessarily make the student community more homogeneous in its attitudes and orientations, but it does increase the importance of other lines of cleavage than class origin among students. This is even more likely to be the case in colleges which do not provide for residential sorting by wealth.

traditional student-versus-faculty lines.¹³ But the issues are equally consequential, both for the student's relationships and experience in college, and more broadly, for the nature and functions of higher education in America.

TYPES OF VOCATIONALISM

The two kinds of vocationalism we identified above--the first, an interest in college as the source of saleable skills and knowledge, the second, an interest in college as the source of a saleable diploma or certificate--are found side by side on college campuses, usually associated with different departments and majors, but they have different consequences for student development. Riesman and Jencks, in their comments on San Francisco State College, find "diploma vocationalism" predominant over "skill vocationalism" on that campus, and increasingly so for students as the direct relevance of their "training" for their intended careers becomes less apparent the longer they remain in college.

Freshmen (at S. F. State) have an ideology of vocationalism, but not its substance. Thus, while nine out of ten say they know what they want to do when they graduate, and seven out of ten say that the purpose of the college is to help them do it, only five out of ten know what they want to major in. In other words, they have no clearly formulated conception of how the college would implement their vocational aims. They only know that they need a diploma to get the kinds of jobs to which they aspire and they innocently

13. The collegiate symbols were sufficiently outside the workaday adult world to be instantly recognizable in a cartoon or film, and their romanticization of adolescent vitality and irresponsibility made that world seem exciting, full of freedom and fun and unearned money. The academic subculture has its prestigious symbols: the academic procession and cap and gown, books and library and laboratory and classroom. But the vocational subculture is almost an adjunct of the adult world of jobs and work: it has as yet no defining symbols which distinguish it as a special college subculture, unless it be the engineer's slide rule in its orange case swinging from the belt. But it is inherently too humdrum and work-oriented ever to be very glamorous, a fact which affects both recruitment to it now and its fate as an alternative image and definition of higher education in the future. The fact that the vocational orientation has no symbols of its own, but nevertheless is serious, and is oriented to the adult world of work, allows it to borrow the traditional symbols of academia: so a picture of a college lecture hall or of students hard at work in a library can as easily be signs of vocational training as of liberal education. But the common use of the same set of symbols for vocational and academic subcultures makes it more difficult for issues between them to be joined, though the conflict is at the heart of fights over admissions policy, curriculum and standards on many campuses.

assume that there must be some good 'practical' reason for this--presumably that colleges teach people how to do some specific job.

By their sophomore year, many students have discovered that this is not true, and have absorbed the academic faith of a majority among the faculty that college ought to give students a 'general' education. As an increasing proportion of students have had some experience with the world of work, more and more become skeptical of the 'practical' value of their studies. They come to realize that college cannot teach them how to teach, or how to do business. For an important minority this realization produces enthusiasm for 'general' education, for ideas, and for Culture. For the majority at State, as at most 'first generation colleges,' it leads only to a desire to meet college requirements, to 'get through,' and to get a diploma which will allow them to get a job they can learn by experience. College may thus be viewed as an obstacle, rather than an opportunity. The result at State is more often bored indifference than the aggressive or defensive anti-intellectualism found in many more collegiate institutions (Riesman and Jencks, in press).

The disillusionment and boredom of many students arising out of their skepticism regarding the practical relevance of their studies (so unlike the intense "skill" orientations of engineering students) lead to much mere time serving. But they also open some to an awareness of the "importance" of general education and ideas which Riesman and Jencks note at San Francisco State and Norman Miller finds on other state college campuses (Miller, 1959). Some of this is a genuine step toward a response to the intrinsic intellectual rewards of their nonvocational studies; for many others, especially upwardly mobile students from culturally impoverished origins, "Culture" is the skill which they aim to acquire in college. The style of the college-educated man--a certain familiarity with ideas, a mode of speech, certain tastes in books and furniture and politics and music--becomes part of the saleable package which students who will be selling themselves and not their skills prepare in college (Trow, 1960). And when time and money allow, these same students may seek to complement their "cultural" skills with social skills through participation in an approximation of the collegiate culture.

Skill-oriented students, like engineers, while less likely to be bored or indifferent to college, are also much more stubbornly resistant to the appeals of "general education"; their styles (and identities) are more firmly crystallized; in many respects, they are not really in college, but are already on the job. But for the large group of vocationally oriented students for whom college training appears to have little direct relevance for the work they will be doing, the directions of development of interests, skills and styles in college are more open, and for them the lines between vocational, collegiate, and academic orientations become blurred. Which way these students go, how genuinely liberating and civilizing their college experience is, then depends heavily on the organization of the college, and especially on its success in developing and sustaining an autonomous climate which supports enthusiasm for learning.

In the foregoing, we have suggested that vocationalism, as an orientation toward college and learning, is growing relatively stronger at the expense of both the collegiate and the academic. It is worth recapitulating some of the forces behind this tendency to see their mutually reinforcing effects.

1. Expansion of higher occupations. In considerable part, the expansion of higher education is a response to the growth of professional, managerial, and technical occupations which require advanced training. As a result of this change in the occupational structure, and also contributing to it, the growth in the college population in recent years has been very largely in fields of study that are directly vocational, such as business administration, engineering, and education.¹⁴

2. Education as the means of mobility. Formal education has been the chief ladder of mobility for aspiring lower and lower middle class people in America for many decades. Their movement toward college continues the secular trend toward more and more education which saw the growth of nearly universal secondary education in the thirty years between 1910 and 1940. People of lower social origins now increasingly see college as the prerequisite for the economic and social advancement of their children, and these perceptions are reflected in the rapidly growing college enrollments. When education is primarily an instrument for the achievement of higher status, rather than a way to maintain and legitimate it, it tends to be defined primarily in vocational terms--as a way of getting the training and diplomas which are needed for the better paying jobs.

3. Responsive character of public colleges. This rapid expansion of college going among job-oriented children of lower social origins has been very largely to the public colleges. These colleges are generally free, conveniently located, and generous in admission; they are responsive to state and local demands and willingly train for the expanding array of occupations that require advanced skills. Comprehensively organized, they take on many characteristics of a large service enterprise. Their commitment to liberal education is partial rather than total.

14. The big three vocational courses--business administration, engineering, and education--which account for nearly half of all undergraduate degrees, are growing nearly twice as fast as the total number of college graduates. In the four years between 1954-55 and 1957-58 the number of degrees earned in these fields increased by 49 per cent as compared with an increase of 27 per cent in all bachelor's and first professional degrees. (Computed from data presented in American Council on Education Fact Book.)

4. Bureaucratization of academic organization. These comprehensive colleges are typically people-processing institutions, whose administrative staffs must deal with and organize the scattered activities of great numbers of students enrolled in a great variety of programs. Relations between teachers and students under these conditions are typically in the mass, usually fleeting, and largely impersonal. Additionally, in the university, teachers' involvement with students is lessened by commitment to research, professional, and off-campus service. The tendency toward secondary impersonal relationships among students and between students and faculty members, fits vocationalism, where technical information must be efficiently transmitted.

5. Withdrawal of student involvement. Students are increasingly enrolled in colleges that are largely nonresidential. Living at home and holding part-time or full-time jobs, students visit the college campus to attend class or use the library. Students drop in and out of college, some finishing in six to eight years while many do not finish at all. In brief, the student role is narrowed to formal course work and squeezed in among other roles that are oriented off campus.

All these forces which are on the rise in American higher education tend, we believe, to reduce the impact of college on the student and to support vocationalism. Increasingly, students with narrow vocational interests enroll in colleges whose faculties and administrators are neither able nor, in some cases, strongly motivated to modify those interests and orientations.

The small distinctive colleges of high academic achievement filled with talented upper middle class students headed for graduate school are in another world. The academic subcultures which flourish in those colleges require a high average level of cultural sophistication, the inclination and leisure to cultivate intellectual interests, the help of personal attention from a devoted and able faculty, and the luxury of having merely to maintain rather than newly achieve high social and economic status. These schools will continue to play a role in American life, especially in its intellectual life, out of proportion to the numbers of their graduates. But despite the worries of their presidents and professors about their effectiveness, these schools do not pose the most difficult questions regarding the bearing of student life on higher education. It is in the large public colleges and universities where vocationalism looms large that the contribution of student life and relationships to education becomes most problematic.

But while I may appear to have been emphasizing the special obstacles which inhibit the development of creative student subcultures on large public non-residential campuses, there is another side to the story. The very conditions which make impossible the growth of student intellectual communities centered on residence halls and eating places paradoxically free commuter colleges from the burden of providing custodial care for their students.

The extent to which colleges in the United States have accepted the custodial role has greatly reduced their autonomy to pursue educational and intellectual objectives. A college standing in loco parentis to students deals with children rather than adults; it is expected to guide unformed minds along conventionally approved paths. A college which defines students as adults is freer to encourage qualities of independence and skepticism, qualities which are subversive of received truth at the same time as they are aspects of the ideal outcome of liberal education.

Residential colleges are much more commonly expected to assume the parental functions of nurturance and guidance, and the "freshmen girls" at coed residential colleges exert a pressure, both as fact and symbol, against intellectual boldness and innovation. But the commuter colleges do not, as often as they might, translate their freedom from these expectations into serious commitments to liberal education. And this is so because, for the reasons we have discussed, they are so commonly vocational in orientation; they stand less in the role of parent, but more in the role of employer, are less the specialized surrogate of the family, but more the pre-employment training arm of industry and government. The exchange greatly affects the whole quality of the educational experience, but it does not necessarily increase the autonomy of the college to pursue educational purposes which are different from, and sometimes at variance with, the socialization of children and the training of employees.

Nevertheless, despite the dominant philosophy of service which minimizes the autonomy of so many public nonresidential colleges, in some the relative freedom from the custodial function has permitted the emergence of genuinely adult and creative undergraduate education. At some commuter colleges, especially those in large cities which recruit able and sophisticated students and faculty members who have independent connections with local intellectual and cultural circles, the larger worlds of politics, literature and art find an institutional home in some departments or segments of the college. These groups of faculty and students create their own nonconformist cultures around shared interests, sometimes in the institutional nooks and crannies of what are predominantly vocational enterprises. The English and Drama departments at San Francisco State are an illustration of this phenomenon: these departments are in some ways more closely connected to the cultural life of San Francisco (and thus to larger cultural movements) than they are to the College itself; within them there is a good deal more direct relationship of faculty to student, and the creation of a genuine cultural community with its strong involvements, at considerable variance with the impersonal and fleeting relationships typical of other departments and of much of mass higher education. If the non-residential character of much of the public sector of higher education makes more difficult the development of institutional autonomy, and tends to reduce the degree to which the majority of students are encompassed, and affected, by their formal education, the same factor

may free parts of such colleges from their custodial responsibilities and thus allow them to develop pockets of adult undergraduate education which have impact on a minority of their students. The rapid growth of public commuter colleges increases the need for additional study and encouragement of such developments.¹⁵

Finally, the organization of the college as a community has profound effects on student life in ways that have been given too little consideration by administrators and too little study by scholars. The possibilities in this respect vary with circumstances; a residential college can purposefully shape its own internal organization in ways that a commuter college cannot; a college of ten thousand has problems unknown to the college with a thousand students. Nevertheless, what we have said about the effects of size and impersonality, of the dilution of intellectual interests among great numbers of students and their neglect by a faculty who deals with students fleetingly and in the mass, suggests that structural innovations working against these anti-intellectual forces might contribute to the growth and maintenance of academic subcultures among at least a significant minority of students. The main thing is to get such students together, so that they can stimulate and support one another's often precarious commitments, and to provide direct and personal encouragement and rewards for such commitments by similarly committed faculty members. This requires serious effort by the administration and at least a part of the faculty to minimize and destroy the "people processing" aspects of mass higher education.

One way an administration can try to do this is by attempting to reduce the effective size of an institution, even without a reduction of its absolute enrollment, by creating what are in effect distinctive smaller communities within the larger organization, communities which include both students and faculty, which have a sense of identity, and above all whose members share interests and commitments which can be supported and furthered, rather than diluted and discouraged, through the ordinary on-going relations of the members of the community. Such communities cannot be called into being by proclamation; they have to have structural definition and support, formal membership, physical place for meeting and working, and insulation against distracting and competitive interests and appeals. They must be small enough to allow members to know one another personally and as wholes; they must be stable enough to allow patterns of sentiment, identification, interaction and intellectual support to develop; they must be reasonably homogeneous with respect to the values and interests represented so that members can center their relationships around these shared and developing interests, rather than, as in the institutions of the collegiate, around the static interests of

15. In 1956 only 30 per cent of all college students lived in college housing. A third lived with parents or relatives while over a quarter made their own living arrangements (Fact Book, p. 121). Also, see the study of Columbia University's School of General Studies, (Zetterberg, 1958).

the youth culture which comprise the lowest common denominator of student life (Trow, 1959). In short, these have to be genuine intellectual communities, rooted in residence halls and groups of departments, or in some other combination of structured interactions and shared intellectual interests. In colleges like Swarthmore and Reed, where the academic subcultures pervade the entire student body, the residence halls themselves come to define these academic communities, especially after self-selection has increased the homogeneity of interest and temperament within them. In universities where the academic values are by no means predominant, but compete with vigorous collegiate and vocational orientations, the division of a student body in the residence halls may simply reproduce the heterogeneous and atomized mass of students in smaller units: the structural definition of a community is present, but not the essential commonality of interest and value. That, at least, seems to be the case on a campus like Berkeley's. But relatively little is known of the nature and determinants of student communities, and of the role which administration action can play in the creation of the best of them.¹⁶ Here, if anywhere, a call for research is not mere ritual: the potential gains both for organizational theory and educational practice are very great.

16. A notable and stimulating exception is the recent work of Selvin and Hagstrom (1960) on living groups on the Berkeley campus.